

OUTGOING  
TELEGRAM

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT  
ARGE TO

Department of State

CONFIDENTIAL

13119

SRW

VERBATIM TEXT

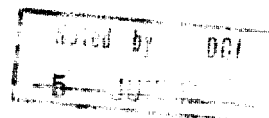
SENT TO: Amembassy, MOSCOW 1451  
RPTD INFO: Amembassy, LONDON 8381  
Amembassy, PARIS TOPOL 4268

S/S

53-51  
Origin

EUR  
Info

Paris for Embassy and USRO



RMR

LIMITED DISTRIBUTION

SS

G

SP

C

W

SAE

L

IO

INR

Following is text of statement on Western agenda proposals approved for delivery to Gromyko. Instructions as to timing of delivery will be sent separately.

Begin Text: The Governments of the US, UK and France believe that the present international situation requires that a serious attempt be made to reach agreement on the main problems affecting the attainment of peace and stability in the world. They consider that, in the circumstances, a Summit meeting would be desirable if it would provide the opportunity for serious discussions of major problems and would be an effective means of reaching agreement on significant subjects.

They regard such settlements as constituting effective means for developing a spirit of confidence in their relations with the Soviet Union which could lead to cooperation among nations in the pursuit of a just and lasting peace.

Such settlements, if they are to serve this purpose, must take into account the legitimate interests of all the parties concerned and must embrace the necessary...

Freers:emh 5/20/58

Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by:

Foy D. Kohler

Reinstein RA-McBride S/P-Smith S/AE-Farley IO-Wilcox S/EWC-Lacy

P-Berding

C-Reinhardt  
Yost

G-Murphy

S/S

CONFIDENTIAL

UNLESS "UNCLASSIFIED"  
REPRODUCTION FROM THIS  
COPY IS PROHIBITED.

CONFIDENTIAL

necessary elements to assure their implementation.

In his letter of January 12, 1958, President Eisenhower put forward a series of proposals to Premier Bulganin. The Governments of the US, UK and France consider that they form the basis for mutually beneficial settlements ~~xxx~~ at a meeting of Heads of Government. Some of the considerations which underlie this view are set forth below. In making their proposals in the field of disarmament, the three Governments recall their obligations, undertaken in the UN Charter, not to use any weapons against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state. While a comprehensive disarmament remains their ultimate aim, they propose certain practical balanced and interdependent measures which would mark significant progress toward controlling the arms race and thus reducing the danger of war. Progress of this sort would also create an atmosphere of confidence which could facilitate settlement of the political controversies that disturb relations between the Western powers and the Soviet Union. Reduction in both nuclear weapons and conventional armed forces and armaments are vital for this purpose. The three Governments therefore consider it desirable to make clear once again what were the reasons which led them to put forward far reaching proposals for partial disarmament in 1957.

1. Measures to control production of fissionable materials for nuclear weapons and to reduce existing military stocks of such materials.

As for the nuclear problem, the heart of the matter is not the mere testing, but the weapons themselves. The Western powers seek a dependable ending <sup>to</sup> of the accumulation of nuclear weapons and a dependable beginning of the steady reduction of existing weapons stockpiles. Since there is no known reliable

means...

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 3 of telegram to Embassy, MOSCOW # 1451**CONFIDENTIAL**

means for detecting the weapons already made, the most effective and feasible way to work toward the reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons is to halt production of fissionable materials for making them and to begin reducing weapons stockpiles by equitable transfers to peaceful uses. The Western powers are prepared to discuss these measures and the ratios of materials to be transferred from existing weapons stocks to peaceful uses with a view to arriving at equitable proportions for such transfers by the states concerned.

2. Suspension of nuclear tests.

If there is a agreement to put an end to the production of new fissionable materials for nuclear weapons, the way lies open to an immediate solution of the problem of nuclear testing. So long as unrestricted manufacture of nuclear weapons continues, ~~and~~ new means are being developed for delivering nuclear weapons rapidly and surely, the suspension of nuclear testing does not constitute disarmament. It is relevant to underline the fact that the existence of nuclear stocks, which are constantly growing, ~~constitute~~ <sup>constitutes</sup> a much more serious danger than nuclear tests. Thus, the Western powers propose not only the suspension of nuclear tests but the stopping of production of new fissionable materials for military purposes and the progressive ~~xxx~~ conversion of stocks of these materials to peaceful uses. Testing could be stopped indefinitely if the necessary inspection system is installed and the production of <sup>fissionable materials for</sup> weapons ~~materials~~ is also effectively ended. Both would be carried out under effective measures of international control.

3. The reduction and limitation of conventional arms and manpower.

An agreement...

An agreement on initial verifiable reductions of armed forces and their stocks of arms could ease the way toward settlement of problems which create international friction. In their turn, such settlements could set the stage for further reductions. This is a sound approach for developing confidence in relations between countries. On the other hand, unverified and uncontrolled unilateral measures can well be merely shifts in deployment or temporary reductions. They do not inspire confidence.

With these considerations in mind, the Western Governments propose that the Soviet Union join them in agreeing on an initial limitation of their armed forces; and on placing in storage depots, within their own territories, and under the supervision of an international control organization, specific quantities of designated types of armaments. They will be prepared also to negotiate on a further limitation of their armed forces and armaments provided that compliance with commitments above has been verified to mutual satisfaction, that there has been progress toward the solution of political issues, and that other essential states have accepted equitable levels for their armed forces and armaments.

4. Measures to guard against surprise attack.

Until general controlled disarmament becomes a reality, the surest way toward the development of confidence lies in lifting fears of surprise attack. Growing capabilities of surprise attack on a massive scale underscore the importance of a prompt beginning on measures to deal with this problem. The Western powers want to meet it on the broadest scale possible. The

Governments...

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 5 of telegram to Ambassy, MOSCOW # 1451

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Governments of the US, UK and France express their readiness to enter into discussion of this subject both from the standpoint of technical considerations of ways and means of achieving this end in the most practical way and from the standpoint of initial areas to be included in the progressive installation of such a system. In this connection the three governments reaffirm their willingness as expressed in the United Nations Disarmament Subcommittee on August 29, 1957, to consider the installation of a system of air and ground inspection as a safeguard against surprise attack on a comprehensive scale embracing all of the US, USSR, Canada, and with the consent of the countries involved, the greater part of Europe as well. If this proposal is not acceptable to the USSR, the three governments are also prepared to consider the establishment in the first instance of smaller zones in the Arctic and European regions, provided that the latter also included a significant part of the territory of the Soviet Union.

5. Use of outer space for peaceful purposes.

An opportunity to stop the development of new and more powerful weapons was tragically lost a decade ago, when the US offer to renounce making atomic weapons and to make the use of atomic energy an international asset for peaceful purposes only, was not accepted. A great step forward in building confidence among peoples and in reducing the danger to humanity from new and powerful weapons would have been made if this offer had been accepted. The responsible ~~responsible~~ countries are faced once more with a similar decision, laden with serious consequences for mankind. The three Governments propose that the

**Soviet...**

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Soviet Union join in the establishment of a group of experts who would make the necessary technical studies for determining what measures are required to assure that outer space is used for peaceful purposes only.

6. Reunification of Germany in accordance with the terms of the 1955 Directive of the four Heads of Government to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

The continued division of Germany is a <sup>major</sup> ~~major~~ obstacle to the restoration of confidence and the creation of conditions of genuine peace and stability in Europe. Thirteen years have passed since the end of the war in Europe, yet no peace settlement has been made with Germany. A necessary prerequisite for such a settlement is the creation of a government which truly reflects the will of the German people. Only a government created on such a basis can undertake obligations which will inspire confidence on the part of other countries and which will be considered just and binding by the people of Germany themselves.

The Heads of Government in Geneva recognized the common responsibility of the four powers for the settlement of the German question and the reunification of Germany. They agreed that the settlement of the German question and the reunification of Germany through free elections should be carried out in conformity with the national interests of the German people and the interests of European security. The Western powers propose that the Soviet Union join with them in immediate steps to carry out their responsibility by agreeing to permit an all-German Government to be formed by free elections and enabling it to carry out its functions. Such an agreement would give tangible evidence of a common desire on the part of the four Governments to create the conditions of trust...

**CONFIDENTIAL**

Page 7 of telegram to Amembassy, MOSCOW # 1451

CONFIDENTIAL

trust on which a lasting peace can be based.

7. European security arrangements.

The Western powers are aware of the fact that the Soviet Union has expressed concern that the creation of a freely-chosen all-German Government with the full attributes of sovereignty would bring about changes in the present situation in Europe which the Soviet Union would consider detrimental to its security interests. The three Governments are prepared to enter into arrangements concerning European security which would give assurances to the Soviet Union in this regard. The arrangements they envisage would involve limitations on forces and armaments. They would also involve assurances designed to prevent aggression in Europe by the exchange of undertakings to take appropriate action in the event of such aggression.

The three Governments seek no one-sided advantage in such arrangements, nor do they contemplate entering into arrangements which would give a one-sided advantage to the Soviet Union to the prejudice of their essential security interests. Confidence can be created by international agreements only if the agreements take equally into account the legitimate security interests of all the parties concerned.

The Western powers call on the Soviet Union to enter into negotiations on the subject of European security in this spirit, with a view to concluding a treaty which would enter into force in conjunction with an agreement on the reunification of Germany. This would recognize the close link which the powers concerned have agreed exists between the two subjects. The

linked...

Page 8 of telegram to Ambassador, MOSCOW # 1451

**CONFIDENTIAL**

linked settlement of these two questions and the confidence created thereby would also permit further progress to be made in the limitation of armaments generally.

**8. International exchanges.**

<sup>requires</sup>  
Lasting peace ~~required~~ a satisfactory settlement of the problems which of Eastern Europe ~~of the Soviet Union~~ and those of the Western countries. concern the general relationship between the peoples ~~of Eastern and Western Europe~~. An important step forward along the ~~peace~~ path of mutual understanding would be made if the interested governments agreed to remove the obstacles which still prevent peoples from knowing each other and to satisfy the common ~~aspirations~~ aspirations of all men by guaranteeing them objective and complete information and by promoting closer cultural ties and human relations.

<sup>at</sup>  
In July 1955, <sup>at</sup> the Geneva Conference, the four Heads of Government ~~agreed~~ included this question in the directives given to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs. While some progress has been made in certain fields since that date, much remains to be done to eliminate the obstacles which still hinder mutual acquaintance and understanding, the conditions for a durable and genuine peace.

**9. Means of strengthening the United Nations.**

The peoples of the world look upon the UN organization and the pledges of its members <sup>embodied</sup> ~~embodied~~ in its Charter as man's best hope for peace and justice. All members have an obligation to strengthen its authority so that confidence in its ability to reach the goal set for it can be increased. One practical way in which this can be done now is through an undertaking by the

Governments...

**CONFIDENTIAL**



Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy, MOSCOW # 1451

CONFIDENTIAL

Governments of the US, UK, France and USSR that they will, as a matter of policy, avoid vetoing Security Council recommendations as to how nations might proceed toward the peaceful solution of their disputes.

10. Ways of easing tensions in Eastern Europe.

The creation of conditions of stability in Eastern Europe based on relations of independence and friendship among the countries of the area would greatly contribute to the cause of promoting a just and lasting world peace.

That this should come about is thus not an aspiration of neighboring Western Europe alone, but of all the world. This international interest found its expression in the international agreements concerning the right of the peoples of the area to ~~choose~~ <sup>choose</sup> their own governments; the peace treaties with their provisions designed to safeguard human rights; the efforts of many countries to improve the economic welfare of the people; and efforts to eliminate interference in their internal affairs.

The Western powers believe that a serious discussion of the problem posed by the existence of tensions in Eastern Europe should be held with the aim of eliminating interference in the internal affairs of the countries of that region and the use of force in the settlement of disputes there.

The Western Governments believe that the proposals set forth above are feasible and could be put into effect now. They believe their implementation is verifiable. The proposals take into account the legitimate interests and security needs of the countries concerned. Their adoption could create a basis for the development of

an...

CONFIDENTIAL

Page 10 of telegram to Ambassy, MOSCOW # 1451

**CONFIDENTIAL**

an atmosphere of confidence and trust that would favor the growth of more active,  
mutually beneficial relations between our peoples and governments. End Text.

= DULLES =

**CONFIDENTIAL**